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Adam Smith and Faith in the Transformative Qualities of Wine in Colonial New South Wales*

JULIE MCINTYRE

*The desire of the governing class of colonial New South Wales to reduce drunkenness among the working classes coincided with the desire to create a wine industry. This intersection occurred in legislation encouraging substitution of light wine for beer and spirits. The notion that encouraging production and consumption of colonial wine could create sobriety arose from faith in the transformative qualities of wine. This faith can be traced from influential philosopher Adam Smith's conviction in *Wealth of Nations* (1776) that people who lived in proximity to wine regions in France were among the most sober Europeans to the enactment of a policy of substitution in the New South Wales Parliament in the 1860s.*

ENLIGHTENMENT THINKING, with its 'faith in improvement', made a 'deep imprint' on the economic and social development of the Australian colonies.¹ This secular faith manifested as 'moral enlightenment' and reflected the rationalist conviction of some colonists that culture had 'unique power to dissolve the ills which beset Australia's development'.² Those landowners, legislators, public servants and clerics in New South Wales who shared this belief were alarmed by high levels of public drunkenness, first among soldiers and convicts and later the working classes. Drunkenness threatened the elite vision for improvement in which law-abiding labourers worked industriously and lived temperately. In this 'cultural order waiting to be defined',³ familiar reforms to reduce inebriety included liquor licensing laws.⁴ Less known were measures to shape the British-derived lower orders' culture of alcohol consumption. That is, to substitute a preference for heavy alcohol spirits and, later beer, with what was perceived as a more sober Mediterranean culture of light alcohol wine drinking. While the origins of the rationale for this policy of substitution are obscure they were given credence in Adam Smith's influential Enlightenment text *An Inquiry into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), in which Smith declared that wine had the

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¹ John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 172.

² Michael Roe, *Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia 1835–1851* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1961), 150.

³ A comparative, emerging cultural environment has been described in the North American context by Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness, The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 171.

⁴ Ross Fitzgerald and Trevor L. Jordan, *Under the Influence, A History of Alcohol in Australia* (Sydney: ABC Books/HarperCollins, 2009), 55–6.

power to effect a 'permanent and almost universal sobriety'.⁵ This article will trace the origins of this hitherto unrecognised strand of Enlightenment influence on colonial thinking and argue that, from the early nineteenth century to the 1870s, elite colonists linked a faith in the perceived civilising qualities of wine with the creation of a wine industry.

In a revision of colonial history from above it has been recognised that evidence of what could be termed uncivilised behaviour, such as court reports of alcohol-related crime and disorder, does not reflect that for voiceless convicts and the lower classes 'drinking life and labour were inseparable; life was lame, incomplete without drink'.⁶ Still, there can be no denying endemic inebriation comprised a monstrous social ill for Indigenous Australians and European colonists.⁷ Consequently the culture of alcohol consumption has received ample attention from historians, in contrast with attention to alcohol production. During the period in which the policy of substitution found its most frequent expression, consumption shifted from imported spirits and fortified wines to locally brewed beer. This change has been mapped most thoroughly by A. E. Dingle, who also made brief reference to colonial wine production as part of his statistical analysis.⁸ F. B. Smith identified that from the 1880s alcoholic beverages were increasingly recast as 'toxins rather than tonics' and drunkenness a condition to be cured through medical means.⁹ Diane Kirkby's survey of the degree to which beer shaped ideas of 'Australianness' from 1880 to 1980 highlighted a divide between anecdotal perceptions of, and research into, a national character or reputation and the demographics of beer consumption.¹⁰ Ross Fitzgerald and Trevor L. Jordan have lately revisited the Australian relationship with beer, spirits and wine in search of an explanation for continued intemperance. Their account, *Under the Influence, A History of Alcohol in Australia* (2009) makes generous mention of wine production. This material on early vine cultivation and wine making is, however, drawn mainly from *A Concise History of Australian Wine* (1994), by wine critic John Beeston, which deserves the high regard in which it is held in the wine industry but is a popular work.¹¹ The limits to existing scholarly historical research on wine in Australia denied Fitzgerald and Jordan an opportunity to discern the complex relationship

⁵ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations* vol. 1 (London: Methuen, 1961), 518.

⁶ Grace Karskens, *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2009), 126. See also Julie McIntyre, 'Not rich and not British: Philip Schaeffer, 'failed' farmer', *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 11 (2009): 4.

⁷ Julie McIntyre, '"Bannelong Sat Down to Dinner with Governor Phillip, and Drank His Wine and Coffee as Usual": Aborigines and Wine in Early New South Wales', *History Australia* 5, no. 2 (2008): 39.12–39.14.

⁸ A. E. Dingle, '"The Truly Magnificent Thirst": An Historical Survey of Australian Drinking Habits', *Historical Studies* 19, no. 7 (1980): 244.

⁹ F. B. Smith, 'Curing alcoholism in Australia, 1880s–1920s', *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 8 (2006): 137.

¹⁰ Diane Erica Kirkby, 'Drinking "The Good Life"', in *Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History*, ed. Mack P. Holt (New York: Berg, 2006), 203–4.

¹¹ Fitzgerald and Jordan, ch. 3.

between production, distribution and consumption to which my argument is intended to make a contribution.

The foundation years for colonial wine production in Australia are understood to be 1788 in New South Wales, 1834 in Victoria, and 1836 in South Australia.¹² With the exception of W. P. Driscoll's *Beginnings of the Wine Industry in the Hunter Valley* (1969), Australian wine history has, until the late twentieth century, been the preserve of industry figures and wine media and for the most part served primarily to complement wine consumption.¹³ Predictably, the emergence of contemporary wine history scholarship in the 1990s coincided with the industry's rise to economic and cultural importance.¹⁴ It is indicative of the limited work prior to this that, in order to publish research on wine exports from colonial South Australia, George Bell had to first write a brief history of wine in South Australia for the same publication.¹⁵ Since then Barbara Santich and Julie Tolbrook Holley have explored aspects of the history of wine in South Australia, and Kym Anderson and Robert Osmond have introduced their economic analysis *Trends and Cycles in the Australian Wine Industry, 1850 to 2000* (1998) with a brief historical overview, but David Dunstan's *Better than Pommard! A History of Wine in Victoria* (1994) remains the most comprehensive scholarly wine history.¹⁶ Recently, New South Wales wine history has been contextualised within the broader historical narrative of colonial development in my publications on the ruinous results of Governor Arthur Phillip's use of wine in diplomatic relations with Bennelong, on the trials of vine cultivation by an early

¹² Arthur Phillip to Joseph Banks, 22 August 1790, Banks Papers, Botanical and Horticultural 1789–1796, ML CY3005/68, State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW); David Dunstan, *Better than Pommard! A History of Wine in Victoria* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1994), 6; Julie Holbrook Tolley, "Gustav Got the Winery and Sophie Got the Soup Tureen", the Contribution of Women to the Barossa Valley Wine Industry 1836–2003', *History Australia* 2, no. 3 (2005): 86.1.

¹³ W. P. Driscoll, *The Beginnings of the Wine Industry in the Hunter Valley*, Newcastle History Monographs No. 5 (Newcastle: Newcastle Public Library, the Council of the City of Newcastle, 1969). General histories of alcohol production have been limited to those published by or with the support of industry, for example, H. E. Laffer, *The Wine Industry of Australia* (Adelaide: Australian Wine Board, 1949). Medico and wine grower Philip Norrie, has corrected errors he perceived in popular wine histories in *Vineyards of Sydney, Cradle of the Australian Wine Industry* (Sydney: Apollo Books, 1990). Popular works include John Beeston, *A Concise History of Australian Wine* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1994); Charles Gent, *Mixed Dozen: The Story of Australian Winemaking from 1788* (Sydney: Duffy & Snellgrove, 2003); Nicholas Faith, *Liquid Gold: The Story of Australian Wine and its Makers* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 2002); James Halliday, *Australian Wine Compendium* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1985) and Len Evans, *Australia and New Zealand Complete Book of Wine* (Sydney: Books for Pleasure, 1976).

¹⁴ On the 1990s Australia wine export boom, as an indicator of economic importance, see Kym Anderson and Robert Osmond's analysis in *Trends and Cycles in the Australian Wine Industry, 1850 to 2000* (Adelaide: Centre for International Economic Studies, University of Adelaide, 1998), 13–15. On the belated cultural impact of wine, see Kirkby, 214–8.

¹⁵ George Bell, 'The South Australian Wine Industry, 1858–1876', *Journal of Wine Research* 4, no. 3 (1993); George Bell, 'The London Market for Australian Wines 1851–1901: A South Australian Perspective', *Journal of Wine Research* 5, no. 1 (1994). This journal is published by the Institute of the Masters of Wine which is not an academic institution. See also R. Dunphy and L. Lockshin, 'A History of the Australian Wine Show System', *Journal of Wine Research* 9, no. 2 (1998): 87–105.

¹⁶ Barbara Santich, *McLaren Vale: Sea & Vines* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1998). Anderson and Osmond, 1–12.

colonial smallholder, and on the perception of John Macarthur and his sons that wine growing could build much desired colonial status as well as wealth.¹⁷

The modest historiography of vine cultivation and wine making in Australia and California before the turn of the century prompted environmental historian Ian Tyrrell to remark that the development of horticulture (fruit-growing, which includes vine cultivation) lacked the drama and romance of nation-building commodities such as gold and wool.¹⁸ Tyrrell went on to argue that horticultural industries deserve greater attention since they are distinguished by being established as much for their perceived transformative qualities as for economic gain. Fruit growing, he argued, was stimulated by 'the old inheritance of an agrarian dream' and a vision for an ideal society with 'civilising' influences like temperance, monogamy, and thrift.¹⁹ Libby Robin has perceived a strong link between Christian missions, ideas of 'civilising' Indigenous Australians and agriculture in remote rural Australia.²⁰ Fitzgerald and Jordan note that faith in the 'civilising' potential of the cultivation of wine grapes dates to the first months of the colony of New South Wales though they do not pursue this.²¹ Dunstan observed that colonial Victorian wine producers believed wine grape cultivation contributed to 'civilisation', that 'not only would the plant acclimatise itself, but those immigrants of mainly British stock who were unfamiliar with its products would themselves be converted'.²² Elite New South Wales colonists shared this desire for a conversion of the lower classes through vine growing and wine consumption.

Before articulation of the premise of this conversion, what of the genesis of the colonial wine industry? Vines for wine grapes were imported to New South Wales with the First Fleet. Like earlier captains of colonisation, Columbus, Cortes and Pizarro, Governor Arthur Phillip collected vine cuttings (in Phillip's case from the Cape of Good Hope) and his gardener planted a small portion of these cuttings at first Government House.²³ Most of the remainder of the collection of vines was cultivated by convict labourers at the government farm at the Crescent, Parramatta, and by a German settler who claimed some experience

¹⁷ McIntyre, "Bannelong Sat Down to Dinner with Governor Phillip", 39.1–39.14. McIntyre, 'Not rich and not British', 1–20. Julie McIntyre, 'Camden to London and Paris: The Role of the Macarthur Family in the Early New South Wales Wine Industry', *History Compass* 5, no. 2 (2007): 434–5.

¹⁸ Ian Tyrrell, *True Gardens of the Gods, Californian-Australian Environmental Reform 1860–1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 4. Further comment on the lack of wine history in the United States is made in Victor W. Geraci, 'The Family Wine-Farm: Vintibusiness Style', *Agricultural History* 74, no. 2 (2000–): 419–32. See also Victor W. Geraci, 'Fermenting a Twenty-First Century California Wine Industry', *Agricultural History* 78, no. 4 (2004): 438–65.

¹⁹ Tyrrell, 4.

²⁰ Libby Robin, *How a Continent Created a Nation* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2007), 130.

²¹ Fitzgerald and Jordan, 105.

²² Dunstan, xiii.

²³ Henry Hobbouse, *Seeds of Wealth: Four Plants That Made Men Rich* (London: Macmillan, 2003), 101, mentioned Columbus; on vine cuttings transported by Cortes and Pizarro: Tim Unwin, *Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade* (London: Routledge, 1991), 216–8. Arthur Phillip to Joseph Banks, 22 August 1790; McIntyre, 'Not rich and not British', 13.

of wine growing.²⁴ Unfortunately, these early trials produced unexceptional results when drying of the vine leaves—caused either by coastal weather, a fungal disease or a combination of both—prevented adequate fruiting. It proved a serious impediment to colonial knowledge of viticulture that wine grapes were not grown commercially in Britain or within the wider British World. Vine cultivation skills were lacking in the colony, and the exigencies of basic survival made food crops a priority.

As the young colony grew, inebriety became notorious and while drunkenness did not represent a greater problem than in Britain or Europe it appeared to threaten the development of civil society in the colony.²⁵ Elite colonists found inspiration for their project for improvement from a variety of sources, among them Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, in which Smith advised 'The colony of a civilized nation which takes possession either of a waste country, or of one so thinly inhabited, that the natives easily give place to new settlers, advances more rapidly to wealth and greatness than any other human society'.²⁶ Tragically for Indigenous Australians, New South Wales readily met Smith's criteria. Colonial administrators and elites aspiring to wealth and greatness were galled that rather than an advanced settled society there was frequent drunkenness and disorder. By 1800, the serious extent to which this threatened success of the colonial project led Whitehall to entreat firm action from the new governor, Philip Gidley King. In response, King's early ameliorative measures included customs duties to make strong liquor less profitable to traders. He also believed it might be possible to reduce the high demand for spirits if lower alcohol alternatives were available. This required cultivation of wine grapes and hops plantations to foster beer production.

Inherent in King's policies lay a perception that the proximity of vineyards and resulting consumption of wine in preference to stronger liquors could promote civility. This faith in the transformative qualities of locally-grown, light-alcohol wine depended on centuries-old stereotypes of European drinking habits. These views held that southern Europeans, in wine regions, drank less than northerners. By extension, according to this idea, a heavy drinker who relocated to a wine region became more temperate after first bingeing on cheap, unfortified wine. Faith in the potential of cheap light alcohol wine to make drinkers less drunk was implicit in a stern comment to King from Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Hobart, that 'it is quite unnecessary here to expatiate upon the advantages that would result to the inhabitants of the colony if the vine could be brought into such a state of general cultivation as to supply even an ordinary wine'.²⁷ Although this might seem to infer commercial benefit, Lord

²⁴ For this early history of wine growing see McIntyre, 'Not rich and not British', 8–9.

²⁵ The notion that Australian colonials were worse drunks than other nations is rejected in A. D. Dingle 'The Truly Magnificent Thirst': An Historical Survey of Australian Drinking Habits', *Historical Studies* 19 (1980): 227–49.

²⁶ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, vol. 2, 75.

²⁷ Lord Hobart to Philip Gidley King, 30 January 1802, *Historical Records of Australia* (HRA) I, vol. 3, 368.

Hobart meant sobriety. A clue to this can be found in Adam Smith's statement, in the trusted *Wealth of Nations*, that

If we consult experience, the cheapness of wine seems to be a cause, not of drunkenness, but of sobriety. The inhabitants of the wine countries are in general the soberest people in Europe: witness the Spaniards, the Italians, and the inhabitants of the southern provinces of France. People are seldom guilty of excess in what is their daily fare. Nobody affects the character of liberality and good fellowship, by being profuse of a liquor which is as cheap as small beer.

Smith held that countries, or regions within wine producing countries, whose climate prevented grape cultivation, and were therefore compelled to import wine, had a greater problem with drunkenness than wine districts. To demonstrate, he wrote,

When a French regiment comes from some of the northern provinces of France where wine is somewhat dear, to be quartered in the southern, where it is very cheap, the soldiers, I have frequently heard it observed, are at first debauched by the cheapness and novelty of good wine; but after a few months residence, the greater part of them become as sober as the rest of the inhabitants. Were the duties upon foreign wines, and the excises upon malt, beer, and ale, to be taken away all at once, it might, in the same manner, occasion in Great Britain a pretty general and temporary drunkenness among the middling and inferior ranks of people, which would probably be soon followed by a permanent and almost universal sobriety. At present, drunkenness is by no means the vice of people of fashion, or of those who can easily afford the most expensive liquors. A gentleman drunk with ale has scarce ever been seen among us.²⁸

In essence, Smith claimed, those who could easily access good quality light wines due to their ethnicity or wealth tended to be moderate in alcohol consumption.

Smith's assertion on wine and sobriety came unexpectedly in a stream of rhetoric calling for the removal of what he perceived as discriminative tariffs on French wine imports to Britain. At this time, Portuguese wine producers enjoyed favoured status in Britain due to the Methuen Treaty of 1703 which allowed for heavy, fortified Portuguese wines to enter Britain at two-thirds the customs duty of lighter alcohol French wines. In exchange, the treaty established a British monopoly on the import of woollen cloth to Portugal. The genius of Methuen's deal was thought to be its creation of a deliberate imbalance of trade, the result of which was that much of Portugal's surplus gold from Brazil enriched Britain with the added benefit of excluding an import from traditional rival France. Smith refuted this by arguing gold could be secured by other means and the quantity of gold in reserve and in private hands did not anyway constitute the best measure of the wealth of a nation.²⁹ With respect to

²⁸ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, vol. 1, 518.

²⁹ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, vol. 2, 54–8.

Portuguese wine, Smith determined Methuen had done British consumers no favours. Instead, it left them:

prevented by high duties from purchasing of a neighbouring country [France], a commodity which our own climate does not produce but is obliged to purchase it of a distant country [Portugal], though it is acknowledged that the product of the distant country is of a worse quality than that of the near one.³⁰

Only the upper classes and emerging middle class could afford French wine. And, in case his readers objected that reducing the cost of French wine by removing the discriminative tariff would cause a rise in lower class drunkenness in Britain, Smith used the aside on wine and sobriety as evidence to the contrary.

The vehemence of his argument is so striking it raises the question: did Smith's preference for French wine soften his stance on trade with France even though it might seem to disadvantage Britain economically? In Smith's lifetime, wine remained a vital substance of trade and consumption, for the pleasure it gave and the safety it offered when water supplies were unhygienic. Smith's relationship with wine (though not likely French wine) may have begun very early. One of his biographers suggested that, according to contemporary wisdom for new mothers, Smith would have been bathed in warm wine immediately after birth in 1723. Wine routinely warmed the evenings for scholars at Balliol College, Oxford University, which the young Adam Smith attended.³¹ He lived in Toulouse, France from 1764 to 1766 as tutor to the Duke of Buccleuch, during which time he corresponded regularly with his close friend, fellow Scottish Enlightenment philosopher and historian, David Hume. These letters show that, as well as meeting influential contemporaries such as Quesnay and Voltaire, Smith visited the fine wine region of Bordeaux, a trip made possible by a letter of introduction from the Francophile Hume. Back in London, Smith lived for a time in the house of a wine merchant in Westminster and, later in life, belonged to a Club established for Samuel Johnson at which wine was no doubt liberally consumed. Gossip about Smith included the wicked description of him by Johnson as a 'most disagreeable fellow after he had drank [sic] some wine, which ... "bubbled in his mouth"'.³² As entertaining as these biographical details are, a more constructive link to Smith's stance on French wine lay in the thinking of his friend, Hume, who lamented in 1752 that:

there are few Englishmen who would not think their country absolutely ruined, were French wines sold in England so cheap and in such abundance as to supplant in some measure all ale and home brewed liquors ... [and yet] we transferred the commerce of wine to Spain and Portugal, where we buy worse liquor at a higher price.³³

³⁰ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, vol. 2, 179–80.

³¹ Ian Simpson Ross, *The Life of Adam Smith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 17, 75.

³² Boswell cited in Ross, 251. Biographical material: Ross, ch. 13.

³³ David Hume cited in Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century: The Wheels of Commerce*, trans. Sian Reynolds (London: Harper Row, 1982), 210.

This sentiment resounded in Smith's anti-protectionist critique of almost a quarter of a century later on the favoured status for Portuguese wine in Britain. Of course, the extent to which Smith and Hume's preference for French wine influenced the argument for free trade cannot truly be known but the provenance of the implausible truth of Smith's aside on wine and sobriety requires further consideration.

The idea that southern Europeans were more moderate than northern Europeans in their alcohol consumption was not new. Considerable opinion in early modern Europe said that the French, Italians and Spanish were more sober than the Germans, Dutch and English. Closer study by Lynn Martin has revealed that national and regional loyalty swayed travellers who reported the observations which created and reinforced this folklore. According to Martin, for every claim that southern Europeans were the most sober there were convincing counter claims. For example, in the mid-fifteenth century Thomas Coke defended as wholesome 'English beverages of ale, beer, mead and cider, and perry' against French wine, which not only made the French drunk, but 'also prone and apte to all filthy pleasures and lustes'.³⁴ Coke's contemporaries had yet to contend with rising consumption of higher strength, spirits-based alcohol in the eighteenth century, which perhaps increased Smith's willingness to trust in the potential of wine to bring sobriety.³⁵ What is relevant here is that authorities who desired the rapid economic and social advancement of colonial New South Wales viewed Smith's anecdote as a prescription for action rather than a description of a specific, long-evolved cultural tendency which he employed in support of his argument for free trade.

The perceived link between national reputations, wine and sobriety, underlay Governor King's plans to order cultivation of grapevines for wine and hops for beer. However, these plant-based industries required skilled labour. While the British had experience of hops growing their understanding of wine began at the barrel, not at the vine or winery. Restrictive immigration policies and views on abolition of slavery meant there was no question of importing vinedressers or wine makers from Europe, or from among the Cape's French and Dutch-owned wine farm slave workers. Then, as if by chance, a solution to the colonial dilemma seemed to present itself in the form of two Frenchmen who were prisoners of war in England. Ante Landrien and Francois de Riveau claimed they were skilled in cultivation of wine grapes and were hurriedly sent to New South Wales with tools they had requested for their work.³⁶ Although

³⁴ Thomas Coke cited in A. Lynn Martin, 'National Reputations for Drinking in Traditional Europe', *Parergon* 17, 2 (1999): 175–6.

³⁵ Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, Revised ed. (London: Penguin, 1990), 19–20.

³⁶ Letter from Ante Landrien and Francois de Riveau, in Enclosure No. 1, Duke of Portland to the Governor of New South Wales, 22 April 1800, *HRA* I, vol. 2, 496–7. J. B. Laideau, 'Method of Preparing a Piece of Land for the purpose of forming a Vineyard', Enclosure No. 1, Duke of Portland to the Governor of New South Wales, 22 April 1800, *HRA* I, vol. 2, 494–6.

strictly speaking they were enemies, they received generous terms of employment.³⁷ This opportunity to secure French expertise gave King cautious hope that it might be possible to produce colonial wine as a lighter proof alternative to rum.³⁸ But then, as now, it took at least three years for new vines to bear harvestable fruit—so results were not immediate.

King hoped, too, that settlers and freed convicts would be induced to trial wine growing. He knew any confidence in its potential as a cash crop could not come until 'the Individual sees the success of the exertions of those employed by Government'.³⁹ He had received, with the prisoners of war, a translation from the French of J. B. Laideau's *Method of Preparing a Piece of Land for the Purpose of Forming a Vineyard*. These instructions were serialised in the first edition of the colony's first newspaper, the *Sydney Gazette*, in 1803, and in two subsequent editions.⁴⁰ (The *Method* would have been a great deal more useful if the instructions had been amended to take account of southern hemisphere seasons). Only a year after publication of Laideau's instructions, King's hopes for wine growing were extinguished. The previous vintage had been of such poor quality he saw no point in sending samples to London. The three-year contract of the Frenchmen expired. One of the men decided to return to England, the other remained in the colony and had, in fact, 'last year made some very good cyder from peachers[sic], which are now getting extremely plentiful'.⁴¹ King felt the wine growing experiment had been too costly. He cast some blame for the failure on the Frenchmen and the rest on the drought. Certainly dry weather would have hindered success but the land which would later prove the most suitable for viticulture had not yet been cleared for farming and access to reliable plant stock remained years distant. By contrast, English hops plants and planting knowledge could be more readily sourced but, to King's disappointment, these experiments were also unsuccessful.⁴²

King's power to make the lower orders sober met with other obstacles. Botanist George Caley described to his patron, Joseph Banks, that King's 1802 imposition of a five per cent duty on the import of spirits had only driven colonists to desperate measures such as making peach cider which was no better than 'hogwash' but eagerly consumed. 'I have witnessed it to produce a great scene of intoxication, as I ever did from foreign spirits', said Caley. 'What is to be done now? Will it be good policy to eradicate all the peach-trees?'⁴³ The governor found he could not create sobriety in New South Wales. This failure contributed to his request to be replaced and his recommendation that an

³⁷ The Frenchmen were promised an annual salary of £60 for three years' work in New South Wales with the option of paid passage back to England at the end of their tenure. Philip Gidley King to the Duke of Portland, 10 March 1801, *HRA* I, vol. 3, 6.

³⁸ See for example, Philip Gidley King to the Duke of Portland, 10 March 1801, *HRA* I, vol. 3, 6.

³⁹ Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, 7 August 1803, *HRA* I, vol. 4, 310.

⁴⁰ *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 5 March 1803, 12 March 1803 and 2 April 1803.

⁴¹ Philip Gidley King to Lord Hobart, 1 March 1804, *HRA* I, vol. 4, 460.

⁴² Helen R. Pearce, *The Hop Industry in Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976), 7.

⁴³ George Caley to Joseph Banks, 7 July 1808, Mitchell Library Manuscript, (ML) A79-1, 185, SLNSW.

inquiry be conducted into the state of the colony. Whitehall had more pressing matters to resolve and did not relieve him of his duties until 1806.⁴⁴ After his departure alcohol consumption continue to rise.⁴⁵

In the 1820s, experiments in wine growing shifted from government farms to private land and by the 1830s to the new colonies of Port Phillip (after 1851 Victoria) and South Australia. Prominent investors in New South Wales included John Macarthur and his sons James and William, Samuel Marsden, Gregory Blaxland and George Wyndham. Blaxland twice submitted what he called 'claret' (named after the common term for red wine from Bordeaux) to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. The Society (later the Royal Society) sought entry of goods in a range of categories including Colonies and Trade. In 1822, Blaxland sent his quarter pipe of wine fortified with about ten per cent brandy to preserve it on the voyage to England. For this submission he received a silver medal and comment that: 'On examination by the committee', the colonial wine, 'appeared to be a light but sound wine with much of the odour and flavour of ordinary claret, or rather, holding an intermediate place between that wine and the red wine of Nice'. The sample did not, however, signal an impending challenge to Old World wines. 'The general opinion', the report pronounced, 'seemed to be, that although the present sample for the inexperience of the manufacturer and the youth of the wine, is by no means of superior quality, yet it affords a reasonable ground of expectation that by care and time it may become a valuable article of export'.⁴⁶ In 1828, Blaxland submitted a new sample of wine to the Society and this time received the more prestigious gold medal and a favourable comparison with Cape wine.⁴⁷ But these prizes provided no guarantee of success, and Blaxland's efforts to make his fortune through wine and hop growing, faded.⁴⁸

No colonist could afford to invest solely in wine growing. Many early growers were pastoralists who turned profits from other enterprises towards experiments with vine cultivation, 'the pursuit of which became a distinguishing mark of the true-blue squire'.⁴⁹ The sons of Elizabeth and John Macarthur had greater capital to invest than most. John's confidence in the potential for colonial wine to create cultural as well as material capital led him to take a walking tour with James and William through France and Switzerland in 1815–16, to acquire knowledge and vine stock.⁵⁰ William's subsequent persistence in trialling wine grapes resulted in the first assisted migration of skilled wine growers from Germany in 1836 (although France had been his first choice). It

⁴⁴ A. G. L. Shaw, 'King, Philip Gidley (1758–1808)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (ADB), vol. 2 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967), 55–61.

⁴⁵ Dingle, 228–9.

⁴⁶ Society for the Arts, *Transactions* (London: The Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, 1823), 104–5.

⁴⁷ Society for the Arts, *Transactions* (London: The Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, 1828), xxxi–ii.

⁴⁸ Pearce, 17.

⁴⁹ Roe, 48.

⁵⁰ For a more detailed account see McIntyre, 'Camden to London and Paris', 434–5.

took all of Edward Macarthur's powers of persuasion to have Whitehall sanction this recruitment of non-British workers. Once the six German migrants and their families were successfully settled at Camden Park in the 1830s, a precedent was set for assisted migration of dozens more German vinedressers and family members to other colonial wine growers a decade later.⁵¹ These vinedressers were predominately Catholic, as opposed to Lutherans associated with the Barossa wine region.⁵²

The quantity and size of colonial vineyards increased steadily from the first recording of vine cultivation statistics in 1844.⁵³ From the 1850s on, however, the inducement to produce grapes was not overwhelming as beer consumption climbed to ten times that of wine (and spirits). The total quantity of wine made in New South Wales had not reached a million gallons a year by the turn of the century.⁵⁴ Why then did growers persist for such slow and meagre returns in a disinterested market? The answer lies in the faith that colonial wine could civilise the civiliser.⁵⁵

Smith had written in *Wealth of Nations* that pastoralism preceded agriculture on the hierarchy of human advancement and, since ancient times, wine growing had been considered a form of 'high' or civilised cultivation compared with other crops.⁵⁶ Colonists in North America and Australia certainly received ideas about temperance and the creation of civil society from religious doctrine but, in New South Wales, the discourse of advocates of wine for its transformative qualities owed more to Adam Smith than the Bible. After the Macarthurs' grand tour of European vineyards, and as Blaxland made his samples of French-style claret, young Scotsman James Busby visited France to research wine growing before migrating to Sydney in 1824. With this knowledge to hand he wrote, *A treatise on the culture of the vine, and the art of making wine; compiled from the works of Chaptal, and other French writers; and from the notes of the compiler, during a residence in some of the wine provinces of France* (1825) during the voyage to New South Wales. The treatise has the distinction of being the first instruction manual on wine growing published in English and some of the colonial gentry for whom it was intended found it useful. Others were offended,

⁵¹ Edward Macarthur to Sir George Grey, 15 March 1837, *HRA* I, vol. 18, 717–9; Edward Macarthur to Henry Laboucher, 15 July 1839, New South Wales Governor's Despatches, May August 1839, ML A1280. Driscoll, 59. 'List of persons to whom permission has been given to import Labourers from the Continent of Europe under the Notice of the 7th April 1847', Enclosure in Governor FitzRoy's Despatch No. 232 to George Grey, 1847, NSW Governor's Despatches, 1846–1848, ML A1267–23.

⁵² On the Barossa Germans, Tolley, 86.2. Details from Germans on Bounty Ships 1849–1852, State Records of New South Wales (SRNSW) 4/4820, AO Microfiche 851.

⁵³ Colonial Secretary Correspondence 1844–1851, Returns of Vineyards, SRNSW 4/7263.

⁵⁴ On beer versus wine consumption: Dingle, 243 and 248. On production: H. C. L. Anderson, *New South Wales Statistical Register for 1906 and Previous Years, Compiled from Official Returns* (Sydney: Government of the State of New South Wales, 1908), 920–1.

⁵⁵ The phrase 'civilizing the civilizer' is prompted by the argument in Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power, Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, c2002), 35.

⁵⁶ Smith, *Wealth of Nations* vol. 1, 172.

thinking it a conceit on Busby's part as a newcomer to offer advice about how to advance the colony.⁵⁷

In his second book, *A Manual of Plain Directions for Planting and Cultivating a Vineyard and for Making Wine in New South Wales* (1830), Busby sought to convert the rum-soaked labouring classes to what he believed to be a more sober culture of wine growing. He argued that 'in wine countries, while even the peasantry consider wine as much a necessary of life as a luxury, nothing is more rare than intoxication . . . they would reject the use of spirits as they would reject poison'. He thought it 'extremely likely that if each farm-house possessed its vineyard, and produced a sufficiency of wine to supply the wants of all labourers employed on the farm, as well as the farmer's own family, a deadly blow would be given to the ruinous habit of the farmer himself indulging daily in the excessive use of spirits'.⁵⁸ While Busby does not directly attribute his convictions to Adam Smith, the connection was implied. The *Manual* established Busby as an authority on wine growing but roused no discernable interest among working class ex-convicts and settlers. It would be some decades yet before, as Michael Roe observed, 'the Australian workingman took moral enlightenment for his own'.⁵⁹ Busby later achieved a place in history as British resident in New Zealand for drafting the Treaty of Waitangi. A year after publication of the *Manual*, a colonist arrived in New South Wales who exhibited unwavering faith in Adam Smith's description of the nobility of vineyards and the transformative qualities of wine. In a spirit of improving fervour, Henry Carmichael went so far as to read *Wealth of Nations* aloud to working men on the ship to Sydney.⁶⁰ He surely knew then Smith's statement: 'the vineyard, when properly planted and brought to perfection, was the most valuable part of the farm, seems to have been an undoubted maxim in the ancient agriculture, as it is in the modern through all the wine countries'.⁶¹ Carmichael went on to join the ranks of wine growers in the Hunter Valley and there sparked angry debate between non-wine growing members of the Hunter River Agricultural Society over vine growers' ability to attract labour during a dire shortage by part-paying workers with wine. Likely armed with Smith's confidence in the greater relative value of wine grapes compared with corn in regions of France, Carmichael upset others at the Society's 1846 dinner when he declared grapevines a more important crop than wheat.⁶² A year later, Carmichael claimed wine had no less value than the 'now much vaunted main staple, wool' and that an acre of vines could be as profitable as a thousand sheep and therefore ten acres of vines as profitable as ten

⁵⁷ *New South Wales Magazine*, 1 September 1833.

⁵⁸ James Busby, *A Manual of Plain Directions for Planting and Cultivating a Vineyard and for Making Wine in New South Wales* (Sydney: Printed by R. Mansfield, for the executors of R. Howe, 1830), 9–10.

⁵⁹ Roe, 205.

⁶⁰ As told to Lady Jane Franklin. Penny Russell, ed. *This Errant Lady: Jane Franklin's Overland Journey to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2002), 135.

⁶¹ Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, vol. 1, 172.

⁶² Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, vol. 1, 172–3. The falling out among members of the HRAS and formation of the HRVA is described in Driscoll, esp 50.

thousand sheep.⁶³ Differences with non-wine growing pastoralists led to the formation of the Hunter River Vineyard Association in 1847.⁶⁴

In the 1840s, the desire among colonial legislators for greater working class sobriety could not have been more acute but prohibition had few followers. The colonial abstinence movement enjoyed only a brief surge of support compared with the strength of its United States counterpart and, according to Roe, the stumbling block to converting moderate temperance advocates to abstinence hinged on moderates' preference for maintaining their own wine consumption while refusing spirits to working men.⁶⁵ Governor George Gipps displayed his moderate stance by actively supporting the New South Wales temperance movement. 'Drunkenness, the fruitful parent of every species of Crime', he said, 'is still the prevailing vice of the Colony', but he declined to pledge abstinence.⁶⁶ Indeed, during Gipps' governorship, the New South Wales Legislative Council created a flurry of laws aimed at encouraging wine production and consumption. Among these measures, the Council sought permission to import French wine directly from France, or French colonies, in French ships. Such trade had been outlawed across all British possessions and the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade in London refused to alter the policy.⁶⁷ This prevented colonists testing for themselves whether lighter French wines could lead to a more sober population, as Smith claimed.

Driscoll thought the new measures favouring wine resulted from the influence of prominent wine growers Richard Windeyer and James Macarthur who were members of the Legislative Council.⁶⁸ But from the first election of twenty-four representatives to the Council in 1843 there were nine other Council members who either had vineyards or connections to them, namely: Alexander Berry, William Bland, Charles Cowper, Edward Cox, John Dunmore Lang, William Lawson, Hannibal Macarthur, William Macarthur and Thomas Mitchell. The Council's reforms to encourage wine consumption included higher import taxes for spirits, higher licence fees for selling spirits compared with wine and beer and, to boost production, an increase in the quantity of colonial wine that could be sold without a licence. Gipps reported to the Colonial Secretary that these pro-wine measures were aimed squarely at stimulating 'the gradual substitution of it for ardent spirits in the consumption of the Colony'.⁶⁹ Without a doubt, this policy of substitution was intended to civilise the civiliser as part of the broader project to improve the colony, as much as to commercially benefit individual members of the Council.

⁶³ Driscoll, 50.

⁶⁴ See for example, *Historical Summary of the Proceedings and Reports of the Hunter River Vineyard Association, from its Origin to its First Annual Meeting in the Year 1853* (Sydney: W. R. Piddington, 1854), esp 3–4.

⁶⁵ Roe, 165–6.

⁶⁶ Gipps cited in Roe, 168.

⁶⁷ Lord Russell to Governor George Gipps, 28 March 1841, ML A1284, 763–71.

⁶⁸ Driscoll, 63–4.

⁶⁹ George Gipps to Lord Stanley, New South Wales Governors' Despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, vol. 44, January–April 1844, ML A1233, 24–5.

The civilising intent of early viticulture is confirmed by the publication of George Suttor's manual: *The Culture of Grape Vines, and Oranges, in Australia and New Zealand* (1843). Suttor, a botanist with Romantic notions of taming the colonial wilderness, first came to New South Wales like Caley under the patronage of Sir Joseph Banks. His efforts to plant vines from 1801 failed but better results were achieved in the 1830s. *The Culture of Grape Vines*, published in London, encouraged migrants to the Australian colonies to consider cultivating vines or citrus in order to create a Mediterranean-style habit of production and consumption. Suttor considered wine growing to be a 'desirable fruition' capable of 'inducing general sobriety by furnishing a wholesome beverage for all', by reducing 'the use of ardent spirits, which are so injurious to health in all warm climates'.⁷⁰ In saying so, Suttor demonstrated familiarity with the wine and sobriety argument, and may have gained his sense of the transformative qualities of wine from Smith's aside in *Wealth of Nations*.

At mid-century, instead of becoming the antipodean Arcadia envisaged by Busby and Suttor, the colony faced upheaval from the gold rushes. Although this new source of capital would eventually contribute to the emergence of greater social and cultural order, at first there was an increase in disorder, crime and intemperance on the gold fields. New levels of drunkenness so alarmed the New South Wales legislature that a select committee inquiry was held in 1854–5, but no conclusions could be reached on appropriate action. Reformers pondered how to shape minds and intentions to protect the project of colonial improvement. (As observed in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'the appetite for strong liquor was as far beyond the power of legislation to control as was the appetite for sex'.⁷¹) In 1859, the member for East Sydney, Henry Parkes, demanded the Colonial Secretary respond.⁷² But no plan seemed viable.

By 1861, a few members of the Legislative Assembly showed renewed interest in the policy of substitution. The member for Parramatta, Arthur Todd Holroyd, tentatively introduced the Sale of Colonial Wines Regulation Bill to allow for an annual licence fee of forty shillings a year to sell colonial wine with alcohol content of twenty per cent or lower. (Cider and perry were added as an afterthought.) The English-born Holroyd, a physician, explorer and barrister, may have met the wine advocate Busby in New Zealand before he migrated to Sydney in the 1840s.⁷³ Holroyd's own connection to wine seems to have been mainly as a wine judge at Agricultural Society shows.⁷⁴

Under the provisions of the bill, penalties would be imposed on licensees who allowed patrons to become drunk on their premises. A similar scheme for a lower licence fee was being trialled in Britain, with a higher alcohol content allowed there. Whitehall's model notwithstanding, the colonial bill immediately

⁷⁰ George Suttor, *The Culture of the Grape-Vine and the Orange in Australia and New Zealand* (London: Smith, Elder, 1843), 24–5.

⁷¹ Cited in Roe, 174.

⁷² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 October 1859.

⁷³ Biographical details at H. T. E. Holt, 'Holroyd, Arthur Todd (1806–87)', *ADB*, vol. 4, 411–2.

⁷⁴ *Maitland Mercury*, 14 July 1893.

met strong opposition from supporters of existing licensees of public houses. Publicans at this time paid £30 per year to sell liquor: usually beer, sometimes spirits and, only very rarely, colonial wine. Their supporters, sensing a threat to the livelihood of publicans, countered that a low licence fee would lead to greater drunkenness by allowing a proliferation of sly grog shops and encouraging the addition of spirit to colonial wine to reach the twenty per cent alcohol limit.⁷⁵

By the third reading of the bill, at the end of October 1862, the Smithian aside about cheap light wine and national drinking reputations sounded loudly in the House in an effort to overcome publicans' objections. The member for Newtown, Thomas Holt, for instance, was 'personally acquainted with several wine countries, and knew, that the drinking of wine instead of spirits in these countries conduced to the sobriety of the people'. In Spain he allegedly witnessed heavily intoxicated Englishmen among the more sober Spaniards and firmly supposed the low cost of wine to be a factor in preventing addictive drunkenness. The member for Hawkesbury, William Piddington said 'the more a taste for light wines was inculcated the greater improvement there would be in the habits of the people'. Joseph Leary, representing the electorate of Narellan, posited that the working classes did not presently care for colonial wines but would begin to as a result of Holroyd's bill.⁷⁶

John Bowie Wilson, member for the Southern Goldfields, summed up the arguments of the opponents of Holroyd's bill. Wilson countered that 'colonial wine was but too frequently of a very inferior description—so much so that three-fourths of it was strongly fortified with spirit—and very inferior spirit too', so publicans' concerns should be respected.⁷⁷ A third group entered the debate: those neither aligned with publicans nor convinced by the wine and sobriety rationale. Their objection related to the economic consequences of promoting consumption of an unpopular drink. Still smarting from his battle for land reform, architect of the Selection Acts John Robertson, argued, that when

free selection had damaged the pastoral interest we had some advantages in return; but [Holroyd's bill] would do it infinitely more injury without any advantage whatever. We should have intoxication spreading from one end of the country to the other. Whether the Spaniards or Germans could or could not drink these wines freely, without reaching intoxication, was not of much importance, when the Legislature had to deal with a measure affecting the sale of colonial wine, which had to be drunk by Englishmen.⁷⁸

But Holroyd remained fixed and, speaking shortly after Robertson, stressed to the house:

the opinion of Adam Smith on the subject of native grown wines, showing that in those foreign countries where these wines were produced they were the cause, not of drunkenness

⁷⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 October 1862.

⁷⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1862.

⁷⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1862.

⁷⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1862.

but of sobriety, so much so that the inhabitants of wine-producing countries were in general the most sober people in Europe. This was one of the chief reasons that had induced [me] to bring in this bill, hoping to thereby to make the Australians a sober people.⁷⁹

Connecting the policy of substitution with Adam Smith carried no weight with publicans' supporters who resorted to ridicule of the bill. Faced with the scornful suggestion that the licence fee for colonial wine should be £100, Holroyd demanded it be as low as £1. Without sufficient support to pass the bill without compromise, however, Holroyd was forced to settle in the end for a £10 fee.⁸⁰ Frustrated by this, medical practitioner and Hunter Valley wine grower Henry Lindeman in 1867 pushed for a lower licence fee for wine shops. He wrote:

How soon our refreshing, exhilarating and restorative wine will take the place of poisonous spirits. We shall then rapidly become a sober instead of a drunken community ... and when the law will allow wine to become our national beverage, thousands of acres now encumbered with the "dreary eucalyptus", will smile with the vine, and another civilising industry will spring up in our midst to employ thousands of families in the light and pleasing labour it requires, and to attract a desirable class of immigrant to our shore.⁸¹

Apart from its startling image of vines so comprehensively replacing indigenous forests, Lindeman's comment neatly encapsulated and adapted Adam Smith's aside on wine and sobriety.

While Holroyd's Act did not prove a panacea for drunkenness, those in support of the measure agreed the failure lay less with the concept than its execution. Repeated abuses of the colonial wine licence—including men allegedly drinking for days at a time in wine shops and then committing crimes—led the legislature to conduct an inquiry in 1875.⁸² The select committee concluded that the Sale of Colonial Wines Regulation Act should not be repealed, as detractors requested, but amended, to give the measures a fairer chance, with tighter restrictions on allocation of the lower licence fee and heavy fines for selling other than Australian wine. The Act's supporters steadfastly maintained that if labourers could be induced to drink lighter colonial wines they would develop a taste for them and moderate their behaviour. The Australian Wine Sales Amendment Act came into force in 1876.⁸³ Comparatively, in Victoria, fear of gold rush disorder caused Reverend J. I. Bleasdale to propose wine growing as a civilising influence in difficult times. Like Holt, Bleasdale claimed to have witnessed national habits of alcohol consumption which showed wine drinkers were more sober.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1862.

⁸⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 December 1862.

⁸¹ Henry Lindeman to the Editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 December 1867.

⁸² Details of the inquiry report in *Maitland Mercury*, 4 April 1876.

⁸³ *Maitland Mercury*, 15 August 1876.

⁸⁴ J. I. Bleasdale, *On Colonial Wines: A Paper Read before the Royal Society of Victoria, 13th May 1867/ by J. I. Bleasdale, Together with the Report of the Late Intercolonial Exhibition Jury in Class 3, Section IX, Wines* (Melbourne: Printed by Stillwell and Knight, 1867), 24.

It was in Victoria that colonial wine growers first faced the largest obstacle to efforts to build a culture of wine consumption in the eastern colonies. In 1877 the first case of grape phylloxera was detected in Geelong. The vine louse, phylloxera, had been inadvertently imported with vine cuttings from North America to Europe where it rapidly destroyed as much as a third of wine grape production then went on to travel from Europe to Australia.⁸⁵ Over the next two decades it became obvious that the only method of controlling the spread of the insect was to graft European wine grape cultivars onto phylloxera-resistant American vine stocks. In New South Wales the phylloxera threat led to the employment of a government viticulturalist, advice for wine growers in the *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, and cultivation of grafted plant stocks at government farms. Victoria also employed experts, but that colony's eradicationist policy of vine-pulling led to the near collapse of its wine industry.⁸⁶ Meanwhile, some parts of New South Wales and all of South Australia's vineyards remained free of the scourge.

Despite avoiding the catastrophe of eradicationism, by the end of the nineteenth century, the status of the New South Wales wine industry warranted continuing government support through instruction and experimentation but its earnings were low. In 1892, a survey showed there were 2,134 growers producing grapes for table, drying and/or wine.⁸⁷ Production centred in Central Cumberland on the outskirts of Sydney, the Hunter Valley, the Hawkesbury-Nepean basin and the Riverina (although Griffith's vast irrigated vineyards would not be constructed until the 1920s) with smaller plantings in the Hastings and Manning Valleys and the New England district. In 1898, a specialist from the New South Wales Department of Agriculture told a meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science that, compared with the 2,600 million gallons of wine produced in the world in 1895, the less than a million gallons produced in New South Wales was a 'quantity not worth talking about'. The colony's export trade for 1895 amounted to a mere 21,557 gallons; 'so that when the export of our wines is under discussion we may be said to have no export trade, and are scarcely likely to when it is considered that we do not supply sufficient good wines for the local demand, which is expanding rapidly'.⁸⁸ The rate of expansion may have been rapid but production remained unremarkable. By contrast, in 1901 New South Wales pastoralists earned more than £9 million from the wool clip.⁸⁹

The positivism that accompanied the emergence of scientific agriculture in this era seems to have stifled any residual faith in the transformative qualities of

⁸⁵ Portuguese wine growers who had for so long relied on the British trade were among those most devastated, Unwin, 19.

⁸⁶ Dunstan, xi–xiii and ch. 7.

⁸⁷ Figures in undated *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, Lloyd Evans Papers, State Library of South Australia (SLSA) PRG 1453/9/10.

⁸⁸ F. B. Kyngdon, 'Wine-culture in New South Wales', *Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales*, vol. 10 (May 1899): 366–7.

⁸⁹ Anderson, 920–1.

wine in New South Wales. Members of the Hunter River Vineyard Association recognised in the mid-1860s that moral reforms more wide-reaching than the policy of substitution would be required to cure drunkenness.⁹⁰ This can be contrasted with the view from France where faith in the transformative qualities of wine had greater historio-cultural consequence. So much so that eminent twentieth-century French historians, Fernand Braudel, Jean-Louis Flandrin, and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie have unproblematically reiterated national reputations for sobriety that favoured the French, a conviction which led Martin to conclude that it is 'much easier to describe the differences in drunken comportment and to note the differences in national reputations than it is to explain them'.⁹¹ In colonial New South Wales, ethnicity is the most likely explanation for the mainly British-derived working class preference for beer despite the mild climate, which in Europe was associated with wine drinking. John Gascoigne observed of the unpredictability of colonial adaptation, that: 'Even European convicts proved much less malleable than Enlightenment theory had postulated . . . The Enlightenment left a deep imprint on Australia, but the land and its peoples were also to demonstrate the limits, as well as the possibilities, of the Enlightenment's faith in improvement.'⁹² Similarly, alcohol culture evolved adaptively in colonial New South Wales rather than within an imposed paradigm.

Official measures by wine advocates to impose sobriety were ultimately thwarted by several factors, including a counter vision by those selling and consuming spirits and beer. It would take two hundred years from the arrival of the First Fleet for Australians in any great numbers to enjoy wine and it was not until the 1990s that Australian wine emerged as a competitive export.⁹³ In the end, too, while a connection between wine and sobriety might be a pleasing idea it continues to prove to have no practical foundation. The recent increase in cheap domestic wine consumption has not, as Adam Smith described, brought a permanent and almost universal sobriety in Australia.⁹⁴ But for a while Enlightened ideas lay at the root of the planting of wine grapes in early New South Wales.

⁹⁰ *Maitland Mercury*, 7 May 1864.

⁹¹ Martin, 186.

⁹² Gascoigne, 172.

⁹³ On drinking culture: Kirkby, 216–8. On exports: Anderson and Osmond, 13–5.

⁹⁴ On contemporary issues and trends in alcohol abuse see Fitzgerald and Jordan, esp 281.